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CANCIONERO DE BAENA

REPRODUCED IN FACSIMILE FROM THE UNIQUE MANUSCRIPT IN THE BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE

FOREWORD BY

HENRY R. LANG

PRINTED BY ORDER OF THE TRUSTEES

NEW YORK

1926

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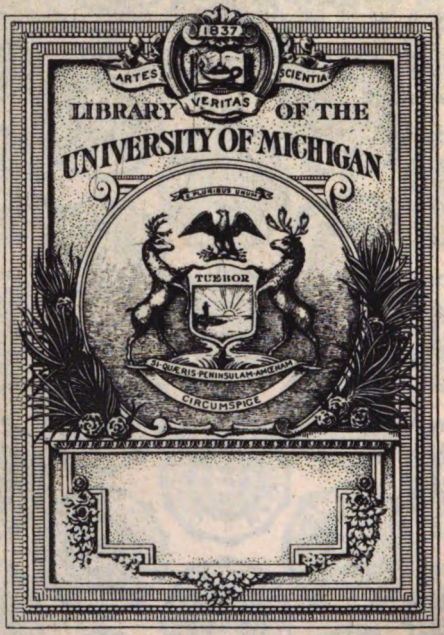

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E en el qual libro general mente son escriptas e pintadas
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de assentadas de muchas e muy sotiles artes. E todas las
escripturas de muy sotiles e antiguos fundadores e Reyes
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mados e bien ejemplados. E todos los otros muy agra-
dables e famosos passos e Requestas que en todos los tiempos passados e
fasta aqui fizieron e ordenaron: escrivieron e escripieron el muy famoso e
famoso poeta maestro e padre de la dicha arte el non alcançado de vida sin fin.
E todos los otros sotiles sotiles e Religiosos maestros en theologia e otras
artes e sciencias e otras muchas e diversas personas sotiles que fueron e
son muy grandes de grandes e omes muy discretos e bien entendidos en la
dicha gaya sciençia arte. E todos quales quier e qualesquier aqui alegados por
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Baena, Juan Alv[illegible] de

CANCIONERO DE BAENA

REPRODUCED IN FACSIMILE FROM THE UNIQUE MANUSCRIPT IN THE BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE

FOREWORD BY

HENRY R. LANG

Professor Emeritus of Romance Languages and Literature, Yale University

Member The Hispanic Society of America, etc., etc.

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FIRST PAGE OF THE *CANCIONERO* (reduced in size) . . *Frontispiece*

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JOHN THE SECOND OF CASTILE . . 11

From a drawing by Valentín Carderera y Solano of the effigy on the tomb, at Miraflores, executed by Gil de Siloe

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Simultaneously with this monograph The Hispanic Society of America publishes the Cancionero de Baena in facsimile.

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FOREWORD

All lovers of Old Spanish poetry will feel deeply indebted to the President of The Hispanic Society of America for placing at their disposal, in the portfolio before us, a superb facsimile reproduction of the celebrated *Cancionero de Baena.*

As is well known, this official collection of the poetic court of John the Second of Castile has hitherto been accessible only in the unique manuscript preserved in the National Library of Paris and in the editions of Ochoa (Madrid, 1851) and Michel (Leipzig, 1860). Even if this finely illuminated manuscript, as some assume, is not the original one, intended for the King himself, but rather an immediate transcript of it, it is nevertheless, both for its splendid workmanship and the wealth of its lore, one of the most valuable monuments of Spanish art and letters in the Middle Ages.

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Considering the many vicissitudes of fortune which this manuscript has suffered, it is remarkably well preserved. It consists of 202 folios. The last ten of these are appropriately assigned to a complete copy of the rhymed *Proverbios de gloriosa dotrina e fructuosa enseñança* composed by the Marquis of Santillana for the Infante Don Henrique (*b.* January 5th, 1425), the successor of John the Second on the throne of Castile. Of the 192 leaves containing the *Cancionero* itself, only six appear to be lost, and one (162) is mutilated. Five of the missing ones are 6, 7, 37, 44, 168, and the sixth is in all probability 144, as Michel assumed (II, p. 117).

Here, as elsewhere in the manuscript, the uncertainty arises from the irregularity with which the leaves are numbered. Unfortunately, Baena's index of authors on $v°f3$ embraces only seventeen names, and the space intended for the numbers of the folios is left vacant. Baena omits from his index important personages like Pero López de Ayala, while he includes the more

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or less legendary Maçias and the amiable Gonçalo Rodríguez, better known as Arçediano de Toro.

After the folio numbered 141 there is one without number, followed by two numbered 142, 143. After these we find two numbered 145, 146, with omission of 144. At the end of the folio numbered 143 we have a *requesta* of one stanza by Juan Alfonso de Baena, no. 417 of the Madrid edition ("Pues que la flor de toda Castylla". In l. 3 read: está derrama[ndo]). This piece is followed by the *finida* ("Por ende, señores, por esto porfyo") which stands at the head of the folio numbered 145. Both in its subject-matter and in its rhyme-scheme (*-on* instead of *-illa*) this *finida* is at variance with the preceding stanza, and must consequently have belonged to a different composition occupying with others a preceding folio which should have borne the number 143. The sequence would thus have been 141, 142 (containing on its verso no. 417), 143 (containing some 136 verses now lost), 144 (containing the *finida* in question, etc.),

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145 etc. Ochoa, whose indication of the folios is usually very accurate, in the present case mistook 145 for 144. As for *f*132, about which Michel (II, p. 74) also was in doubt, the continuity of the text shows that it was not lost, but simply misnumbered. The disturbance here begins with *f*129, the verso of which is blank and is followed by a folio numbered 130 instead of 131. The next folio, numbered 131 instead of 132, has a blank verso with the exception of three lines at the top, and is followed by another unnumbered folio.

Apart from the occasional lack of one or two verses, as on *v°f*76, no. 236 ("En un pleito que es pendiente") or *v°f*114, no. 326 ("A ffray Lope, pues derecho"), we find the following more important lacunæ due either to the copyist or to the compiler's inability to secure perfect transcripts of the originals concerned:

(1) *V°f*5, no. 6. Owing to the loss of the two next folios, this poem lacks the last two stanzas contained in the version preserved on *v°f*78 of the *Cancionero* X^2 of the

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Royal Library of Madrid and printed on p. 644 of the Madrid edition. In the version of our collection, the refrain of the fourth stanza comes after the second. In this connection, attention may be called to the fact that in another *cancionero* of the Royal Library (Mussafia's X^1), there are six compositions of Villasandino (*f*144, 156-158), five of which, not being in Baena's compilation, are printed in NOTE III of our two editions. The sixth (*v°f*158) is the same as no. 33 of our *Cancionero*. In the still unedited *Cancionero de San Román* (R. Acad. de la Historia), Villasandino is credited with three compositions:

(i) *V°f*419 "Que se fizo lo pasado" (X^1, *f*144);

(ii) *F*424 "Pues que fortuna sus rayos inflama", attributed by Baena (no. 277) to Fernán Manuel de Lando;

(iii) *V°f*444 "Dezir contra Fernan Manuel: 'Señor, Alvaro [de] Luna'", corresponding to no. 256.

(2) *F*18, no. 39. The poem to which the *finida* standing under this piece properly belongs is lost.

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(3) *F*28, no. 74. All but the epigraph and three lines of this *decir* is lost.

(4) *F*38, no. 107. Owing to the loss of *f*37, the *finida* of no. 107 is lost with the exception of its title and the word *ganaste*. We also miss the first few lines of no. 108.

(5) *F*44, between nos. 137 and 138, is lost, including the first part of 138.

(6) *F*130, no. 353. This poem is a "requesta contra el mundo e sus tunbos". As its subject, *el mundo*, is referred to by pronouns in every stanza, but not designated by name, we must assume the loss of an initial stanza in which it was so introduced.

(7) *F*138, no. 390a. The stanzas announced at the end of the first octava: "Yo presento mi rrespuesta en la manera syguiente" are missing.

(8) *F*141, no. 398. The *decir* of Alvar Ruyz de Toro, which is referred to in the epigraph of this piece, seems to be lacking. What follows under no. 398 is a composition written by Juan Alfonso de Baena as a reply to it.

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(9) *F*143, no. 421. With the exception of its epigraph, this composition, containing the King's decision in a poetic debate, is lost.

(10) *V°f*156, no. 470 "Pues la pas sse çertefica". The last three lines of the *finida* of this poem by Juan de Mena are lost. This is indicated not only by the dots placed in the manuscript under the fifth line, but by the fact that the last rhyme of the preceding stanza (*-isso*) has no correspondence in the *finida*. In Michel's edition the fifth line of the *finida* is omitted. The version of this composition preserved in the *Cancionero de San Román*, *f*222 (see the index in Amador de los Ríos, *Historia*, VI, p. 539) may contain the missing part of the *finida*. The next entry in that collection, *f*223, "respuesta de Fernan Manuel de Lando a Juan de Mena", is not in the *Cancionero de Baena* and can hardly be correct, as Mena's poem concerns political events of the year 1449, and the poet was only three years of age in 1414 when Ferrant Manuel in verses addressed to the

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Infanta Doña Leonor (no. 68) referred to himself as *ançiano* and *envegeçido*.

(11) *F*162 a, no. 499. The last twenty-three lines of this poem, and the first twenty-three (or two stanzas and a half) of no. 502 ($v°f162$ b) are cut out.

(12) *F*189, no. 569. Of this poem by Fernán Pérez de Guzmán only the epigraph and four lines are preserved. No complete text of it is known to the present writer.

(13) Nos. 37 ($v°f16$), 93 ($v°f33$), 98 ($v°f33$), and 107 ($v°f36$) have lost their *finidas*.

(14) *F*156, no. 470. The quatrain "Pues que fustes la primera" differs both in its metrical form and in its thought from the poem "Vive leda, si podrás" of Juan Rodríguez del Padrón, under which it stands, and is therefore not related to it, as was pointed out some years ago by A. Mussafia *Per la bibliografia dei Cancioneros spagnuoli* (Vienna, 1900, p. 22-23). There is no evidence, however, that it is a fragment of a poem forming originally part of the *Cancionero de Baena*. In the *Can-*

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cionero de Stúñiga p. 185 (*cf.* also the Paris collections R44, H55), this quatrain is the subject of a *glosa* by Çapata.

(15) *F*187. Here we miss the religious poem to which no. 560 forms the *desfecha*.

(16) *V°f*114, no. 325 has only three stanzas in reply to the twenty-nine of no. 324. While this disparity may be due to the compiler's lack of a complete copy of the original, the fact that neither this reply nor the one of no. 326 reproduces the rhyme-system of the challenging poem renders it more likely that in the present case we have instances of the infraction of the rule that *preguntas* and *requestas* must be answered in the same metrical form, *por los consonantes*. That this convention was not invariably observed may be seen from nos. 117, 118, 235, 246, 303, 330, 341, 478, 481, 495, 518, 520. In some cases Baena, who not infrequently assumes the part of the literary critic of his confrères, nevertheless accepts a composition having this defect and declares it well done (nos. 328, 520, 522 "non embargante . . . que non va guardada el arte de trobar").

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In many instances we may look in vain for replies to *preguntas* or *requestas*; they are missing, for example, to nos. 132-134 (*adivinanzas*), 255, 259, 268, 279, 280, 283, 332, 498, 508, 549, 550. *Preguntas* are wanting to nos. 347, 495, 500.

The serious theological questions regarding free will and predestination which Fernán Sánchez Talavera propounds in no. 517 to such men as Pero López de Ayala were honoured by no less than seven answers (nos. 518-524), and the *decir* in which Fernán Pérez de Guzmán exalts his lady-love above all others (no. 573, *f*191), was met by three (nos. 574-576), in this case with careful observance of the *arte de trobar*.

In the epigraph to no. 494 (*f*160), Vasco López (rather Pirez) de Camões, the great-grandfather of Luis de Camões, is erroneously represented as receiving, instead of offering, a *respuesta* to the learned theologian Fray Diego de Valencia.

Baena's previously mentioned index or "tabla de los desidores" registers the "de-

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JOHN THE SECOND OF CASTILE
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sires generales" and "desires de los reyes del dicho Juan Alfonso de Baena". If by "desires de los reyes" we are to understand more dignified compositions than the "petiçiones" addressed to King John the Second, only one such "desir" has found a place in the final redaction of our *Cancionero*. This is no. 37 (*v°f*16), written in 1406 on the death of Henry the Third. The only other poem of this class known ("Alto rey, muy soberano") is preserved in *Cancionero* X^2 of the Royal Library at Madrid, *v°f*131 ff. of Part II, and consists of 204 stanzas and a *finida*. In it Baena seeks a remedy for the disastrous political dissensions of Castile. The first six stanzas are printed in note II of Ochoa's and Michel's editions, and the entire poem is copied in Menéndez y Pelayo's *Antología*, II, p. 215-262. Another copy is contained in the *Cancionero de San Román f*1-44. In his index of that collection, p. 522, Amador de los Ríos cites two compositions of Baena's instead of one, presumably because he took the couplet "Para el rey tan exçelente Perteneçe tal

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presente", which forms part of the epigraph in X^2, to be the beginning of a separate piece.

Of the twenty-five or more compositions which our two editors register as anonymous —Ochoa cites thirty-eight cases in the list of first lines and twenty-eight in that of authors—all but three may with fair probability, if not always with entire certainty, be identified by internal evidence. Nos. 53, 54, 56, 68-70, 78, 79, 100, 153, 159, 166, 199, 217 unquestionably belong to Villasandino, as does probably also no. 285, *f*92. This is a *respuesta* without metrical correspondence to no. 284, a piece in which Ferrant Manuel de Lando, though not an adept of the Galician and Provençal schools, indulges in the rhyme-artifice known as *manzobre* (Portug. *mordobre*) corresponding to the *rims derivatius* of the Provençals. No. 229, *f*73, a poem on the birth of John the Second (October 2nd, 1405; *cf.* nos. 226-228, 230), both by its subject matter and its style favours the conjecture that it came from the pen of

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Villasandino. Nos. 231, 237, 240-242 may be assigned to Francisco Imperial whose name would doubtless have appeared in the epigraphs for which space seems provided on *f* 78. No. 266, *v°f* 88, is undoubtedly addressed by Baena himself to Ferrant Manuel de Lando with whom we find him engaged in debate in the preceding and following pieces. No. 271, *v°f* 89, is by Ferrant Manuel, as appears from the epigraph placed in this case below instead of above the composition. No. 340, *v°f* 123, a characteristic *decir* against the vanity of this world, is by Juan Martínez de Burgos, to whom it is ascribed by his son in Mondéjar's *Memorias de Alfonso VIII*, Apéndice p. CXXXV (where it is said to consist of twenty-six stanzas and a *finida* of four lines).

There remain four poems whose authorship is doubtful. No. 31a, *f* 14, a composition whose initial verse is "Quien de lynda se enamora" and which consists of five stanzas with *estribillo*, contiguous in Ochoa's edition as in the manuscript with NO. 30

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("Lynda syn comparaçion"), is in all probability by Villasandino, as it stands in the midst of his work. No. 340 a ("Los quales usades del arte gayosa"), a *pregunta* on the *arte de trobar* and other queries of contemporary interest, is addressed by some *trobador*, perhaps Baena, to his fellows. F. Wolf (*Studien*, p. 211) attributed this piece to Juan Martínez de Burgos, the author of the preceding *decir* (no. 340). To this he was doubtless led by the fact that in Ochoa's edition, the only one then accessible, the word *ffin* standing in the manuscript on the margin against the twenty-eighth stanza of the *decir*, and the term *pregunta* following the *ffin* in smaller script, are omitted, so that the two compositions appear as one. As Juan Martínez's son Fernán represents him as writing only *decires*, it is not likely that he was interested in the *gay saber*. Another *decir* of his, quoted by his son (Mondéjar, *l. c.*), consists of twenty-one stanzas and a *finida* of four verses and is directed against "el mundo desengañando al ome". No. 341,

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*f*125 ("Altesa de dubdas, de forma fagrosa") is the only recorded *respuesta* to the *pregunta* just mentioned. There is no clue to its authorship. No. 344, *f*127, ("Rosa de gran fermosura") is a song in honour of the Virgin, belonging to the class of *alegrías* or *gozos* exemplified for instance in nos. 317, 318, 503, 560, 567, 568. It may be by Pero Gonçalez de Uçeda of Córdoba, whose poems precede it. No. 421, *f*144, a piece announcing in the name of the King a decision in a poetic debate, is in the midst of compositions by Juan Alfonso de Baena, the royal scribe, and is therefore most likely by him.

According to the useful numeration introduced by Ochoa, which makes his edition convenient for reference, our *Cancionero* has 576 compositions. This estimate is probably based upon a count of all those stanzas or groups of stanzas which the editor recognized as constituting distinct compositions, with a deduction from the figure so obtained of six pieces (*f*154-155) which are duplicates of nos. 351-356

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(*f*130-131). Not only did Ochoa deduct these duplicates of the six interesting examples of gnomic poetry by Gómez Pérez Patiño, a prominent member of the Valencian school, but he suppressed them without any consideration for the valuable variants which they offer to the critical editor of a text. Nor did Michel, who retained the duplicate copies, take them into account, as appears very clearly from the fact that (II, p. 69) he calls attention to the absence of v. 11 in no. 351 (*f*130), the first of the six pieces, but does not supply this verse from the duplicate, *f*154, where it is preserved ("Non ssé onbre que non tema").

In addition to these six pieces there are, however, others existing in duplicate copies without having been deducted by Ochoa. No. 20, *v°f*11, repeats, as Michel points out, the first four stanzas of no. 15, *f*10. No. 40 *v°f*18, is the same as no. 556, *f*186, though there ascribed to Garçi Fernández de Gerena; and no. 331, *f*118, is identical with no. 553, *f*180. Deducting these three instances of repetition from 576, we obtain

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573 as the total number of compositions.

There are, however, still other irregularities to be considered. In the Madrid edition, the piece "Dizen los sabios: Fortuna es mudable", *f*98, following no. 289, *v°f*96, bears the same number 289 instead of 290. Again, in more than one instance, stanzas or groups of stanzas which constitute compositions distinct in subject or form or in both, have not been recognized as such, and have consequently been comprised with others under the same number, instead of being counted separately. Thus p. 18 (*f*8), owing to the loss of *f*6 and 7, we find under no. 7 a fragment of ten lines and a new composition marked as such by its form: "Desque vy vestra color" (no. 7a). P. 22 (*f*10-11), no. 15 extends through the first two lines of p. 25 and is followed by a new piece: "Ay meus ollos, que quisistes" (no. 15a). P.35 (*f*14), no. 31 ends with the *finida* of p.36, whereupon begins a new composition with *estribillo* (31a), doubtless also by Villasandino. The verses beginning "Salga el leon que estava escogido", which

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in the manuscript are at the head of *v°f72* and are followed by no. 231 ("Non fué por çierto mi carrera vana") are a duplicate of the first two stanzas and the *finida* of no. 199, *v°f60*, a poem in honour of King John the Second. They are left out in the Madrid edition, while Michel separated them duly from the rest, though apparently without being aware that they occur elsewhere in the collection. P.257 (*v°f84*), no. 251 proper consists of only two stanzas. A second composition begins with "Por Deus, señora, non me matedes" (no. 251a), and a third (p. 258) with "Pero te syrvo syn arte" (no. 251 b). P. 332 (*f105*), no. 301 extends to the end of the first three stanzas of p. 333, after which ensues a new composition "Comidiendo non folgué" (no. 301a), also by Pero Ferrus. P. 392 (*v°f123*), no. 340 extends through the first eighteen lines of p. 398, whereupon begins (*f125*) the *pregunta* "Los quales usades del arte gayosa" (no. 340a) which was discussed above. P. 444 (*f138*), no. 390 extends through the first three lines of the second

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column of p. 445, whereupon follows the first octava of a new, incomplete piece "Prinçipe muy eçelente" (no. 390a) by Baena. Like nos. 378, 379, 389, it contains an appeal for a royal decision in a poetic debate. P. 462 (*f*143), no. 412 is represented only by its epigraph. After this comes another poem, the "pregunta que fyso Juan Alfonso de Baena" (no. 412a). P. 547 (*v*°*f*167), no. 516, evidently incomplete, extends through the first five lines of p. 548, whereupon follows a gap caused by the loss of *f*168 and a new piece (*f*169) "Maestre señor, sy lo cobrastes" (no. 516a). P. 552 (*f*170), no. 518, the first of the seven replies to Talavera's subtle question (no. 517) is written in the prescribed *verso de arte mayor* from which its author, the celebrated Pero López de Ayala, returns longingly to his favoured older manner, the *cuaderna via* of the composition entitled "Estos versos compuso San Ambrosyo" (*v*°*f*170, no. 518a). This composition (*cf.* ***Rimado de Palacio*** *c.* 1291-1296, 1298) bears no separate number in the Madrid edition. As regards its

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title, it is well to bear in mind that Pero López de Ayala translated into Castilian a selection from the *Moralia* of Saint Gregory. This version is preserved in a fine fifteenth century manuscript of the Escorial under the title "Flores de Morales de Job" (Escorial MS. b-ij-7). Latin copies of the *Moralia* existing in the Escorial are listed by R. Beer, *Handschriftenschenkung Philip's II an den Escorial*, p. LIII, 108, 14-15.

As will be seen from the above, there are ten numbers to be added to the 573 previously obtained, making a total of 583. By the omission of San Ambrosyo from the index of our editions, and the inclusion of Juan Martínez de Burgos, the number of authors proves to be fifty-five.

It must be admitted that, as has frequently been said, much of this poetry shares with mediæval lyrics in general the reproach of artificiality and formalism. This is a defect which not uncommonly attaches to occasional and didactic writings, but in the present case it may, in large measure, be attributed to the stifling

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effect which the slow assimilation of the new literary doctrines coming from Provence and Italy had upon poetic imagination. If we are to judge fairly of the merits of the poetic activity of this period, we must remember that it loses much of its appeal when taken out of its natural atmosphere, and that we moderns, who are the heirs of all the ages, are too prone to dismiss, as commonplace, ideas which once possessed all the charm of novelty and freshness. But, however this may be, what the *Cancionero de Baena* may lack in æsthetic value is more than outweighed by other, very important, qualities which it offers to the student of literary history.

In its rich and varied flow of verse, we have a vivid picture of the higher intellectual and social life of Castile in the decades of transition from the heroic struggle for existence to the more tranquil and ordered conditions under the Catholic Kings. Like most of the collections of its kind, our *Cancionero* mingles echoes of the Galician and other poetic idioms with the

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predominant Castilian, thus bearing eloquent testimony to that unity of literary ideals which was characteristic of Spanish society at that time. It is significant that this very period has bequeathed to us among other notable works, in the *Prohemio* of the Marquis of Santillana, the first critical survey of the artistic lyric of France, Italy, and the Peninsula.

It is to the intellectual unity just mentioned of the three Peninsular nationalities, the Portuguese, with its older but waning art, the Castilian, with its vigorous national tradition, and the Catalan, with its Gay Science and the new manner received from Italy, that Spain owes the elaboration of its new lyric style, which in its main principles still prevails to-day.

From this point of view, again, the *Cancionero de Baena* deserves much more attention than has so far been bestowed upon it. Not only is it the most copious of all the extant *cancioneros* of the fifteenth century, containing five hundred and eighty-three compositions by more than

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fifty *trobadores* and *dezidores*, and the most interesting for its variety of poetic types, among which those of Italian origin are the only important ones lacking; but it has the exceptional merit of serving as a sort of *ars poetica*. Both in the body of its verse and especially in the epigraphs placed by the compiler before many of the poems, we are apprized of their technical form and name, the occasion which gave rise to them, and sometimes even of their value. In fact, by far the greater part of what direct information we have concerning the structure and terminology of the mediæval court poetry of Castile is due to these epigraphs.

There is every reason, therefore, why our *Cancionero*, in the exact and magnificent copy which is now to be added to the treasures of the Hispanic Society, should be made the point of departure for a critical and comprehensive study of the development of the lyric style of the Peninsula.

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NOTES

This collection of verse, known as the *Cancionero de Baena*, or *de Villasandino* from its chief contributor, was compiled by "the humble Johan Alfon de Baena, scribe and servant of the most high and most noble King of Castile, Don Johan our Lord, with great anxiety and labour, and with much diligence and care and a great desire to gratify and please and gladden and serve his Royal Highness and very great Lordship." The compilation was begun at some time before May 18th, 1445 when Doña María, the first wife of John the Second, whom Baena included in his dedication, died, and it was completed shortly before the death of the King on July 21st, 1454, as it contains a poem (no. 530) in memory of Ruy Díaz de Mendoza, the royal majordomo, who died in 1453.

If, as certain students of it have believed, it is, not a transcript, but the unique and identical manuscript presented to John the

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Second, its history during five hundred years can be traced with more semblance of certainty and accuracy than is usual in such cases. At the death of the King, it probably went, with other royal possessions, to his son Henry the Fourth and from the latter to his sister Isabella *la Católica*. This, at least, is the accepted provenance of the codex which was listed in the *Inventario* of her books, preserved in the Archives at Simancas and published by Clemencín in his *Elogio de la Reina Católica*. These books, kept in the palace at Segovia under the custody of Rodrigo de Tordesillas, were, after her death, transferred to the Royal Chapel at Granada. There, as was noted by Andrea Navagero in 1526, they were kept in a case (*pieza*) in the sacristy. In 1591, Philip the Second issued an order that the books in this chapel be removed to the library of the Escorial. It is certain that the manuscript here reproduced is the one described, with some detail, by Rodríguez de Castro in 1781 as being in the Escorial—and which has been missing from there since the beginning of the nineteenth century. Before the French invasion in 1808, Cienfuegos, Navarrete, the Columbine scholar, and José Antonio Conde, at one time cus-

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todian of the library of the Escorial, were appointed by the Royal Spanish Academy and the Royal Academy of History to continue the collection of Spanish poetry begun by Sánchez. It is known that this *Cancionero* was one of the manuscripts they studied and that all were in Conde's keeping. In 1818 Ticknor saw and studied it in the Royal, now the National, Library at Madrid, possibly under the guidance of Conde himself—at that time Ticknor's tutor. At some time after Conde's death in 1820, Richard Heber, the English collector, acquired it from Conde's heirs. At the sale of the Heber Library in 1836, it was bought by the French bookseller, Techener, for sixty-three pounds sterling. He, in turn, sold it in the same year for eighteen hundred francs to the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, where it now is. Again in 1838, Ticknor saw and studied it, this time in the National Library of France where it was number 1932.

The question as to whether it is or is not the original manuscript can hardly be decided. The Madrid editors assumed that our manuscript might not be the one intended for the King because it lacks some folios, and one folio is cut. Such defects prove very

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little, especially in view of the many hands through which the manuscript has passed. What might be regarded as more serious arguments are the absence of a contemporary numeration of the folios (in Roman figures), the incomplete list of authors and the lack of indication of the folios in the list, and the considerable number of blank folios or parts of folios.

The codex consists of 202 folios, numbered in a later hand. It is written in red and black in double columns, on paper, with illuminated initials. As noted, several leaves are wanting, and one is mutilated. The *Cancionero* is concluded on *v°f*[191] and is followed by a *Carta* and the *Proverbios* of the Marquis of Santillana on different paper and in a later handwriting. These are not included in the printed editions. When, or if, it was in the library of Queen Isabella it was bound in black leather. It is now bound in green morocco, by Lewis, an English binder. The facsimile reproduction measures 42 x 29.2 cm. (leaf) or 37.7 x 25.3 cm. (MS. page).

In 1850, the French government, through the offices of the Marquis of Pidal, sent the *Cancionero* to Madrid for the use of the scholars who were then working on a manu-

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script copy made at Paris by Ochoa. (It may be of interest to remark here that Ticknor in 1846 mentioned a manuscript copy which Gayangos evidently had considered purchasing for him).

The first printed edition appeared at Madrid in 1851, prepared by Ochoa, Durán, Gayangos, and others, at the expense of the Marquis of Pidal who wrote the introduction. In 1860, Francisque Michel published at Leipzig an edition on which he had long worked and long held in proof sheets, but which, from force of circumstances, he had been unable to finish earlier. Although Cejador y Frauca and Menéndez y Pelayo, among other historians of Spanish literature, have worked and published since that time, few contributions have been made to the studies completed nearly seventy years ago, by Ochoa and Michel.

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